THE COMplaint of peace.

Wryten in Latyn, by the famous Clerke, Erasimus Roterodamus.

¶ And Nuely translated into Englysshe by Thomas Paynell.

Anno domini. 1559.

¶ To the Ryghte Honorable Lorde Antonie Vicounte Montegue, Knyght of the Right Honorable order of the Garter.

Rasimus Roterodamus, one of the excellente Clerkes of oure tyme, perceyuynge and seynge the worlde to be wauerynge, troublesome, vnquiet, and euery where bended and inclined to warre and myscheyfe, coulde not temper hym selfe, nor yet his penne, but neades he must write vnto the worlde this true and eloquent complaint the whiche I haue translated and dedicated vnto youre Lordshyp, as vnto a father and a supporter of peace, & quietnes, intytuled the complaynte of Peace. And serchynge very narowlye for a place for peace to reste her selfe in. He in his tyme, coulde no wheres, no not amonge Princes (as he sayth) nor Cardinales, Bysshops, Prestes, Lawers, Maried men, nor amonge Scole men, nor Diuines, nor yet amonge Religious me, kind wher to bestowe her quietly: such tempestes, and surges of Controuersye a rose in euery Citie and Region throughoute all Christendome, that peace was and is exiled euen from those, that to thensample of all others shoulde haue enbraced her, the whiche truely yf Christes trewe Religion had bene amonge

them, wolde moste louyngelye and quyetlye haue receyued her, and moste tenderlye retayned her. And euen nowe euerye mannes headde, as I coniecture and perceyue is busye & vnquyet, gyuen al to newfanglenes, the very mother of all commotions vprores, debates, battel and murther: the mother of al ryetus and lycentius lyuynge, and of lewde lybertie sedycion and treason, the very roote and begynnynge. Euery man is nowe redy to inuade other, to spoyle, to robbe, to deface Cytics, townes and burrowes. Thus through Mars and Bellona, and for lacke of vnytie and peace Cities are spoyled & Ciuill lawes, the presente ayde and mayntenaunce of the common weale put to scylence. Thus Marchauntes are robed both by sea and by lande, thus the innocente husbandman is vtterlye vndone, thus Kyngdomes are empouereshed, honest Matrons defyled, Virgins defloured, incest and sacralege suppozted, and thee world on euery side redy to decay, & al this (as I haue said) for lacke of true peace in Christ, ỹ which causeth men to be of one accord in fayth, conformable in purpose, and lyke in humilitie and diliction. Godof hys goodnes sende vs thys Peace. For why the peace of thys worlde, is rather a dyscorde than a Peace: of the whych and the commodytyes thereof wyth the incommodytyes of warre, and howe Peace is turmuiyd and toste from poste to pyller. Erasmus in thys complaynte mooste syncerelye and eupdenlye dothe teache vs, the whyche as it is mooste eloquentlye and pleasauntlye wrytten, soo it is to thole that fauour and receiue the truthe, mooste true and pleasaunte.

Thus

Thus oure Lorde preserue youre Lordeshyppe euer
and euer, and sende vs the Peace
that passeth all vnderstan-
dynge, and that neuer
shall haue ende.
Amen.

¶ The complainte of Peace.

If mortall men (so it were for theyr commoditie) wold soo disdaine me, eiect me, and vtterly vndo me, that hath not deserued it. I would euen nowe lament my iniury, and their iniquitie: but whan they euen at thys present doo driue me, the spring and founten of all felicitie, from them vtterly lost and caste awaye, and cal vnto them the sea of all calamitie, theyr infelicitie, is more to be bewayled than is my iniury, whose chaunces I am enforsed to lamēt and to haue pitie on them, with whom I had rather be angery and mistontented. For why to driue his louer from hym, howsoeuer he driueth or reiecteth hym is vnkindnes, to disdaine him that hath deseruid thankes vnthankefulnes, and to afflict and vndo the parente and

keper of all men, is a wycked thynge. But seyeth not this an extreme demēcy and madnes, to thynke them selues vnworthy of so excellent commodityes, the which I doo bryng with me, and for these wylfynglye to call for: soo cruell a heape of all euylles? It is semelye and mete to be angerye with the euyll: but what other thynge canne we doo than bewayle those, that are soo dryuen and tosse with furys: the whyche certenlye are for noo nother cause more to be lamentid, thā that they lament not them selues, nor for no other cause more vnhappy, than that they perceyue not their infelicitie. For it is a certayne grece and steppe to helth, to knowledge the greatnes of oys infirmitie and sickenes. For yf Peace prayse by the voyce of the Goddes and men be the founten, parent nurysher, augmenter and defender of all good thynges, that other the ayer hath or the earth. Yf withoute me there is nothynge flourysshynge no where, nothyng sure, nothynge pure nor holy, nothynge pleasaunte vnto menne, nor thankfull vnto the Goddes. Yf warre

contrary

contrarye to all thynges, be the sede of all euylles. A certen Occean Sea of all naturall thynges, wheresoeuer they be. Yf all flourysshyng thinges through the vice of this, doo putrify, thynges increasyd doo dye, thynges vnderset doo fall, thynges well and substancyall builded do peryshe, and that are swete, waxe sowre. Fynallye yf it be a thyng so far from holynes, that it be a most presente pestylence of al godlynes and religion. Yf there be nothyng more vnfortunate than thys one thyng vnto men, nor nothynge more hatefull vnto the Gods. I praye the by the immortall Gods. Who shall beleue these to be men. Whoo shal beleue that there is any cram of wysedome in them, that with so greate charges, so greate stody, so greate trauell, so many craftinesses, soo manye cares, soo many perylles do stody to cast me of, & woulde bye suche a heape of euylls soo dearelye? Yf wylde beastes after thys maner woulde despyse me, I woulde beare it more easelye, and impute thee iniury done vnto me, to nature, where

wyth

with the cruell inclination of nature, had done cruellye. Yf I were hatyd of dumme beastes. I would forgeue theyr ignorannce because that strength of the myndc is denyed them, the which onely canne perceaue my gyftes. O vnworthy thinge, and more than prodigious: nature hath creatyd man indued with reason, and that receuyth the wyll and mind of God, beneuolence and concorde and yet I doo soner obtayne a place among wyld beastes, howe wylde and howe brutyshe soeuer they be, than amonge men. And the confederations of soo manye celestiall circles, albeit theyr motion and power is not all one, yet they contynue and lyue thus manye yeares. The powers of the Elementes stryuynge amonge them selfes, doo defend with equall wayte, eternal peace, and they in soo greate a discorde, with a mutuall consente and exchaunge doo norysshe concorde. And howe faythfull a consent and agrement of theyr membres is there in the body of Beastes, and howe readye is theyr mutuall defence: What thing is there more vnlyke than

is the body and the soule: and yet with howe streyte an amitie hath nature bounde these two together, certes the seperation of them declareth it, therfore as life is nothing else, but the societie of the body & the soule, so the helth of al the qualities of the body is concord. The vnreasonable bestes do lyue euerye one in his kynde ciuillye and in good agrement. Elephantes doo liue in sondrye flockes Swyne and shepe paster together. Craynes and Jayes do flye together in companyes. Storkes the maysters of pitye haue theyr assembles. Dolphines doo defende them selfes wyth mutuall offices and dueties. The politike concorde that is among Antes and Bees is knowen. But wherto go I forwardes to speake of these thynges, the whiche, notwithstandynge they lacke reason, yet they lacke not perceauyng. Thou mayst knowe, that in trees and herbes there is a certaine amitie. Some be baron, except thou ioyne a male vnto them, a vyne embraseth an elme, a peach a vine, insomuch that insensable thinges, seme yet to perceaue the bene-

Lyfe.

Concord

fytes,

fytes of peace. And as these thynges haue not the powre of perceuynge, soo that they haue lyfe, yet they are borderers vnto those thynges that perceiue. What is so brutyshe as the kynde of stones: and yet thou shalt say that they haue the sense of peace and concord. So an Adamant drawyth yerne vnto hym. and drawne, doth holde it. There is also agrement among ỹ most sauage and wild beastes. The wyldnes of Lyons doth not apere amōg thē selues. A Bore doth not moue nor shake his fyery tuske agaynst a bore. And among Linces ther is peace. A Dragō sheweth no cruelnes agaynst a Dragon. And the prouerbes haue adournyd the concord of wulues. I wyll adde that semeth to be more marueilous, the wycked spirites, throughe whom the concord and peace of those ỹ be in heauen, and of men was first broken, and nowe is broken, are in leage amonga them selues, and defende that theyr tyranny such as it is, with consent and agrement. men onely, whom of all other vnamitie becommeth, the which principallye haue mooste nede thereof

nother

nother nature so myghtye and effectu-
ous in other thynges canne accord, nor
instruction ioygne together, nor so ma-
ny commodities proceedyng of concord,
vnite them, nor the felynge and experye-
ence of so many euyls reduce and bring
them to mutual loue and concorde. The
figure and forme of all men is commen,
and the selfe same voyce, and wher as al
other kynde of beastes do differ moost
cheyfely amoug them selues in forme
and fashion of bodyes, the bygure and
force of reason is geuen and appoynted
to man onely, the whych is vnto them
and amonge them so commen, that it is
commen to no nother beastes, & sprache
the principall conciler of amitie & frend-
shyp, is geuen vnto mã, the sedes of all
discipline & vertuous are commonlye
grafte in him, a gentle & a meke wytte
bending to mutual benenolẽce ẏ which
of it selfe deliteth to be beloued, and is
plesant to do good vnto other, excepte
amã through euil cupidities & lustes be
as it were with Circes medicines cor-
ruptid, & of a man through degeneratti-
on & going out of kynd be made a beast:
Of this certẽly ẏ vulgar & cõmõ peple

Circes.

what

whatsoeuer dothe pertayne to mutuall benevolence, doo call it humanitie and gentlenes, Nature vnto thys hath ad-
Teares. dyd teares, a document and experience of an erorable nature, where by yf anye offence perchaunce hath happenyd, or any smale cloude duskyd the clearenes of amitie, they maye easelye be made frendes againe. Lo by howe many reasonnes and wayes nature hath taught concorde: And yet not beynge contente with these inticementes of peace, shee would not that amitie should be onely pleasaunt vnto man, but also necessary. And therefore she hath soo parted and diuided the gyftes aswell of the body, as of the soule, that there is no man so wel furnished, but that nowe and than he maye be releuyd and holpen by the office of the inferiours. Nor she attributh nor geueth not the selfe same, nor yet the lyke vnto all men, that this inequalitie myghte be made equall thorough mutuall loue and amitie. Diuers thinges come forth of diuers countrise, that the very vse of them should teache mutuall merytes and deseruynges. Vnto

other

other beastes, she hath attributed armour and helpe, where with they shulde defende them selues, onelye manne she hath brought forth without knowledge and feable, nor noo otherwyse in sauegarde, than by confederations and mutuall necessitie. Necessitie inuented cytyes, and necessitie hath taught the societie and felowshyp that is among them, that they ioynyng they^r strength and power together, should repell the violence of wylde beastes, and robbers. For in worldly thynges there is so litle helpe that mankynde euen at the begynnyng of lyfe, hadde perysshed, yf matrymonyall concorde had not nourysshed and broughte hym vppe. For man shoulde not haue bene borne, and borne euen at the begynnyng of lyfe, should by and by haue perysshed, and lost lyfe: yf the frendly hand of the mydwyfe, and frendelys piety of the nurse, had not holpen the infante. And nature hath planted vnto thys vse, those vehemente lytle fyers of pyetie, that thee parentes loue euen that, that as yet they haue not sene. And vnto thys she hath added the mutuall

Necessitie.

pietie

pietie of the chyldren to theyr parents, that theyr imbecilitie and weakenesse myght mutuallye be subleuatyd and suckeryd by theyr ayde and helpe, and that it myght be vnto all lyke plausible and fauorable, and of the Grekes called mooste aptelye *Antipelargosis*, that is a mutuall retaliation or compensatyon of benefytes vnto thys are added the bandes of kyndred, and of affinitie. In some there commeth the symilitude of wyttes, of stodies, and of shape the surest reconciler of beneuolence. In many a certen secrete sense and felynge of ỹ mynd, a maruelous great spurge and prouocation to mutual loue and amitie, where at oure elders muche maruelde, and ascrybe it to the wyl and powre of God. With thus many argumentes nature hath taughte peace and concorde. With thus many inticements she hath inuytyd vs vnto her, with soo manye cordes she draweth vs with soo manye thynges, she compelleth vs. And after al these thinges, what effectuous infernal fury to hurt man, these thynges beyng broken, cast a syde, and shaken of, hath

plantyd

plantyd in the heartes of man this insatiable fury of fytynge? And but that the vse and custome doth fyrste take awaye the admiration, and than the sense of the euyll, who would beleue that these men were indued with reason, that with continuall discord, controuersies, & warres contend and striue among them selues. Finally they trouble and confounde al places, both haloued and prophane with rapine bloude, and ruine. Nor there are no confederations, be they neuer so holy, that can seperate and diuide them furiously ragyng agaynst them selues, to the mutuall destruction of them selues. Yea yt nothing had bene put or added vnto it, the commen vocable or name of a man, had bene sufficient for agrement amonge men. But be it so that nature, the which is of great force among brute beastes, profited nothing among men: shall Chryst therfore be of no force, nor powre among chrystians? Let the doctryne of nature be of lytle effecte, yet among beastes that haue no vnderstandyng, it hath great force and strengthe. But forasmuch as the doctrine of Christ

is much more excellent thã the doctrine of nature, why dothe it not 'perſwade ẏ thynge vnto thoſe that profeſſe her, the which one of al other thinges ſhe moſte principally doth coũſel: that is Peace & mutual beneuolence: or at leaſte waye, teach him to forget this ſo wicked & ſoo cruel madnes of making of war. When I here the vocable & nature of man, by & by I rune vnto him as vnto a creature borne properly for my welth, truſting ẏ it ſhalbe leful for me to reſt ther, & whan I here the title of chriſtẽ men, I make ẏ more haſt vnto thẽ, hauing truely good hope to reigne amonge them. But here amõg theſe (I am a ſhamed and loth to ſpeake it) the places of iudicature, ẏ coũ ſel chamber, ẏ courtes, the tẽples do ſo rumble & ſound euerye wher wt debates & ſtrifes, that the like is no wheres amõg the Ethnikes. Inſomuch ẏ wher as the company of aduocates is ẏ greteſt part of the miſery & calamitie of mã, yet this is but a ſmale matter & a ſolitarioulnes to the troubles of thoſe ẏ goo to lawe. I behold the Citie, by and by I haue good eſperaunce & hope, that there at leaſte

Aduo-cates.

wayes

waies is good agremēt & concord amōg those ẏ the self same waules do enclose, ẏ self same lawes do rule and gouerne, & as caryd in one shippe, a commen perill and daunger dothe contayne. But O wretch as I am, ẏ here also doth find all thinges defiled w̄ dissention, & soo, that scarsely it is lefull to find any house, in the which I may haue a place for a fewe dayes. I leue of the vulgar and commen people, the which after the course of the Sea, are drawne w̄ their owne formur and troubelous motions. Now I come vnto the court of Princes, as into a cercerten port & hauen. No dout (quod I) amōg thē there shalbe a place for Peace. For they are more prudent & wise then the cōmen people, they are the eye of ẏ people. Furthermore they are placid in hys stede & rome, that is the docter and Prince of concorde, of whome truely I am commtndyd to all men, but specially vnto these. And al thinges doo promys me well. I see gentle salutatyons, amorus, embrasynges, merye banketes, and all other duetyes and offyces of humanytye.

Cities.

Vulgar people.

Courte

But o vnworthy thing, it was not lawfull amonge these to beholde the onelye shadowe of true peace and concorde. All thinges were coueryd and fayned, and with open factions and secret dissentions and hatredes corruptid. And finally I insomuch do fynde that amonge these there is no seate for Peace, that from hence commeth the sprynges and begynninges of al dissention and warres. But whether after thys shall I vnfortunate turne me, seing that hope hath soo oftentimes deceuyd me? But Princes are rather mightier then lernid, and are ledde more by cupiditie and lust, thā by the right iudgement of the mynde. I wyll conuey my selfe to the companye of eruditie and learnyd men. Good letters make men. But Philosophy more than men. Diuinitie maketh thē godes. It shalbe lawefull for me thus dryuen aboute with so many circutes to reste among these men. But alas for sorowe, beholde here in like maner a newe kind of warre not so bluddye, but nolesse folyshe and madde. One scole varieth frō a nother, as though the truth of thinges

Note.

learned men.

were

were chaunged, by the place, so certaine decres trauayle not ouer the Sea, certen passe not ouer the Alpes, nor certayne swime not ouer the Rhene: yea in ỹ selfe same vnyuersitie the Logicians maketh warre with the Rhetoricien, & the Diuine dothe dyscorde with the Lawer. And in the selfe same kynde of profession and learnynge, thee Scotysse dothe fyghte with the Thomiste, the Nompynale with the Reale, the Platonyst with the Peripatike, in somuch ỹ in most smal matters, they agre not, and often tymes they stryue moste cruelly for a matter of nothynge, vntyll the heat of the dysputacion doth ware more and more from argumentes to slaunders, and from slaunders to buffettes. And albeit the thynge be not doone nother with daggers nor speres, yet with ther poisoned and venimouse tyles they wounde eche other. & with bytynge tethe and tauntes, they teare one another, and one against the others, same do violētly moue & shake the deadly dartes of they r tonges. Whether shal I turne me, that so oftē haue prouid that I am deceiued? What remayneth

Religiō. but onely religion, a secrete as it were & a holy anker whose profession, notwithstanding it be the cōmen profession of al christians, yet they do moste peculiarlye professe it with title, apparel, & ceremonies, ỹ commenly are commēded by the name of priestes. These therfore do put me beholding al things in good hope, ỹ there is a hauen prepared for me. The whyte garmentes nobilitatiō with my own color, do please me. I se crosses, the tokens & notes of peace. I here the swete name of a brother, the argumēt of a singuler charitie. I here the salutations of peace very happy through ỹ ioyful pronunciation of thinges, ỹ be to come. I behold & se the communion of al things a colledge ioyned together, al one temple, the selfe same lawes, the quotidian & dayly conuentes. Who doth not trust ỹ here shalbe a place for peace? But O vnworthy thyng, the colledge doth not almost neuer agre with the Byshoppe. Thys is a smale matter, but that they through dissentiō must also be deuided amōg thē selues. How many priestes be ther, that are not at debate & strife with

some

some other preist: Paule doth iudge it a thing not to be borne, that one christen man shuld go to the lawe with another 1.Cor.6
& should a preist striue with a preist: & a byshop with a byshop: But perhappes some one will forgeue these mē, because that through long continuaunce & vse, they are come in a maner to the company of prophane and laye mē, inasmuch as they haue begune to possesse the selfe same thynges with them. Goo to. Let them hardly vse theyr ryght, the which as it were they doo defende by prescription. Yet there remayneth one kinde of men, the which are so bounde to religion, that yf they woulde despyse it, they can by no meanes shake it of, noo more than a tortuse her house or shell. I shuld hope to haue a place amonge these, but that my hope soo oftentymes frustrated, had taught me vtterlye to despere. And yet because I wyll leue nothyng vnproued, I wyll experiment it and proue it. Thou seekest for an ende of this matter. I departyd from noo men more gladly. For what thynge shoulde I hope for, whan religion doth not agre w religiō.

There are as many factions, as there are felowshyppes. The Dominicales are at debate with the Minorities. The Benedictines with the Bernardynes: as many names, so many Religions, so many cuen of purpose, diuers ceremonies, because that nothing should agre: euery man is pleasyd with hys owne, and hateth & condemneth other mens. The selfe same felowshippe is through factions dyuyded. The obseruauntes speake euyll of the Coletes, and bothe they of the third kynde, the which haue their name of the Conuentes called Cō-uentuales, and yet there is no agremēt among them. I nowe as it is mete and mistrusting al thinges, desyred to hyde my selfe in some litle monasterye, ỹ truely and vnfainedly were in quiet. Thys thing I shal saye againste my wyll, the which would to god warre not moofte true. Hetherto I haue found none, that with enuill, hatred and braulinges was not infected. A shame it is to rehearse what vnprofitable strifes & debates the elder men which are to be fered and reuerenced for their beard and cloke sake,

doo excite and styrre of tryfylles & vaine maters. And finally howe greatly learnyd they seme vnto them selues, & howe holy. Yet some lytle hope smyled vpon me, that somewheres among so manye Mariages, some maner of place, should be geuen me. For what doth not a commen house, a commen bed, and commen chyldren proms? Furthermore ỹ mutual lawe of their bodies, so that ỹ shalt rather beleue thē to be one body made of two, than to be two. But that moost myscheues Eris and contention is also cropen hether, and through the dissention of theyr myndes diuideth those, that with so many bondes are bounde. And yet I shall soner chaunce to haue a place amonge these, than among those which with so many titles, so many diuers garmentes, so many ceremonies professe or absolute charitie. But finally I desiryd thys that at the least way, a place might be appointed me in the brest of some one man. But yet that chaunsyd not, for the selfe same man dothe stryue and fyghte with hym selfe, reason maketh warre with the affections, and furthermore

Mariage.

Eris.

affection,

affection, whilst pitie draweth one wai and cupiditie a nother, striueth with affection. Againe lust swadeth one thing, and anger another, ambitiō one thing, coutuousnes another. And being such men, yet they are not ashamid to be calied christians, albeit that they do vtterly discorde from the thinge that is vnto Chryst most cheyfe and peculier. Contemplate and behold his vniuersal life. What other thinge is it, than the doctrine of concord, & mutual loue? What other thyng doo hys commaundements inculcate and repete, what hys parables but Peace, but mutuall charitie? Dyd that noble Prophette Esaias inspyred with the celestiall spirite, and shewing that Chryst the reconciler of al thynges should come: promys that he shoulde be a ruler, or an ouer thrower of Cities? A warrier? A triumpher? Noo no. What then? A Prince of peace, and because he woulde that he shoulde be notyd and vnderstandyd to be the best of all other: he notyd hym of that thynge, that he iudgyd, the beste of all thynges. For it is no maruell that it semed so to Esaias:

The lyfe of Christ

Esa. 9

as whan that Syllius the etnich poet wrote of me in thys sorte and maner. Peace of all thinges that nature gaue vnto man is best. And that mistical poet doth agre vnto thys man sayinge. His seate is made in peace. He said in peace, not in Hostes. He is a Prince of peace, he loueth peace, he is offended with discorde. And againe Esaias calleth peace a worke of Iustice, meaning (if I be not disceyued) the selfe same that Paule mente, and he of troubulous Saule, was made peasable, and the doctour of peace. With what best, with what eloquence, and he preferrynge charytye aboue all other gyftes of the spryte, thũder oute my prayse vnto the Corynthyans: whye shoulde I not glorye to be praysyd of so laudable a man: This manne sometymes callethe hym the God of peace. In another place he calleth hym the peace of God: manifestlye declaryng these two to cleaue and agre among them selues, that there canne be noo peace, where GOD is not presente, nor that God can be there, where peace is not present.

Sillius. Peace. Psa, 75. Esa, 32. 1, Co, 13 He, 13. Tollo, 30

Like-

Lykewyse we rede in holye Wryte, the Angells of Peace to be called meke and
Psame 103. the ministers of God: so that by it selfe it is manifest, whom we ought to take for the Angells of warre. Harken vnto me ye excellent warryers. Beholde vnder whose ensygnes ye warre, Certes vnder hys, that tyrst sowde dissention & discorde betwene God and man. What calamitie so euer mā doth fele, he ought to ascribe it to his dyssention and dyscorde. A lyght matter it is that certen men do argue that God in holy Wryte, is called the God of Hostes, and ỳ God of vengaunce: For why there is a grete difference betwene the God of Iewes, and the God of Christen men, although that of their owne nature they are one, and the selfe same God. Or yf the olde titles do please vs, go to, let hym be the God of Hostes, so that thou take and vnderstand the sharpenes and front therof to be ỳ consent of vertue, by whose aide and helpe good men destroy vyce. Lette
Esaie. 1 2 Reg. 12. him be the God of vengaunce, soo thou take vengaunce for the correctiō of vice, and dost referre the bloudye occision of men,

men, wherewith the bokes of the Hebrues, are replenished, not to ỹ cutting and terynge of men in peces. but to thee driuinge awaye of wycked affections oute of the brest and mind of man. But to folowe on that we purposyd. As ofte as the secret and diuine letters do signifye absolute felicytye they doo it by thee name of Peace. As Esayas, my people (sayeth he) shall sit in the beutifulnes of Peace. And another, Peace (sayeth he) vpon Israell. Againe Esaias doth maruell at the feete of those that denunce Peace, that denunce good thynges. Whosoeuer bringeth tidings of Christ, bringethe tidinges of Peace. He ỹ opuulgath warre, diuulgath hym that is moste vnlyke Chryste. Goo to nowe, What thynge dyd drawe the sonne of God into the Earth, but that he myghte reconcile the world vnto the father, and ioygne men amonge them selues, with an indissoluble charitie, and laste of all that he myghte make man hys frende. He was than an Ambasadoure for me, he dyd my busynesses. And therefore Salomon woulde beare his type and figure

Esai. 32.

Psalme 124.

Esai. 52

1. Psal. 82.

figure, the which vnto vs is called peasable. Howe great soeuer Dauid was. yet because he was a warrier, because he was defyled with bloude, he is not suffered to buylde the house of god. Nor he deseruid not in thys parte, to beare the type and figure of peasable Chryst. Nowe O thou warrier, ponder thys in the meane while, yf warres receauyd & done by the commaundemente of God do prophane men, what shall they doo, whom ambition, anger, & fury doth perswade: Yf the bloud of Ethnikes, being shed dothe polute the meke kyng, what shall the great effusion of christen bloud doo: I pray ehe O thou christen Prince, yf thou be truely a christian, beholde the Image of thy Prince, obserue & marke how he entred into his kingdom, howe he proceded, howe he departed hence, & thou shalt easely vnderstande, howe he would haue the to rule, mary that peace and concord might be the some & conclusion of al thy care & rule. Dyd the Aungells whã Chryst was borne, blowe vp their warlyke trumpetes: The Iewes vnto whom war was pmitted, hard the

1, Psa, Reg, 22

1, Psa, Reg, 22, 28.

sounde

sounde of the trumpetes. These begyn-
nynges were mete and conuenient for
those, to whome it was laweful to hate Leui. 19.
their enemies. But ỹ Angells of Peace
sing another maner of song to the peo-
ple of Peace. Do they call men to war:
or doo they promys victories: or tri-
umphe: Noo. What than at last: They
denounce Peace, & the congruences w̄
the oracles of the Prophetes. And they
denounce it not to those that breth oute
murders and warre, that shewe them
selues fearce to battel, but to those whi-
che with good wyll are inclinyd to con-
cord. Let men cauller and say what they
wyl to their own destruction & hurt: yf
they loued not war, they would not thus
stryue with continuall warres amonge
thē selues. Go to. What other thing dyd
Christ him selfe beinge of a good age
teache. What other thing did he exprese
than Peace: And nowe & than he salutid
his Disciples w̄ the good lucke of peace.
Peace be vnto you. And he prescribed Luc. 24.
vnto his ỹ forme of gretinge, as onelye
mete & worthi for christē mē. And ỹ Apo Roma. 1.
stles not obliuious & forgetfull of thys

precepte

precepte and commaundement, begyn
theyr Epystles with Peace: and wyshe
Peace vnto those whom they syngu-
larly well doo loue. He wysheth an ex-
cellent thynge that wysheth helth: but
he that doothe desyre peace, desyreth the
sume and conclusion of all felicitie. And
marke with what solicitude and care he
nowe departyng thys worlde, commē-
deth Peace, the which he so often times
in all hys lyfe tyme commendyd. Loue
Jo. 15. ye (sayth he) one a nother as I haue lo-
ued you. And agayne. I geue you my
Jo. 14. peace, I leue you my peace. Do ye heare
what he leueth vnto hys? Doth he leue
thē horses? or a garde? or an Empire? or
riches? none of al these thyngs. What
thā? he geueth peace, he leueth peace,
Peace w̄ his frends, Peace w̄ his ene-
mies. Now I wold thou shouldst cōsider,
what he after the mysticall supper, the
tyme of hys death beyng nowe at hand,
with those hys laste prayers, desyred of
hys father. I suppose that he whyche
Jo. 11. knewe that whatsoeuer he demaunded
he should obtaine it, would aske no vul-
gar nor no comaen thynge. O holye

father

father(saieth he)kepe them in my name Joan. 17
that they maye be one as we be. See I beseche you, howe noble a concorde Christ doth aske for hys. He sayde not that they maye be of one mind, but that they may be one, nor that after euerye maner, but as we(sayeth he)be one: the which after a most perfect and a vnspeacable way are the self same. And by the way declaryng that men by this way & meanes onely, must be sauid, yf they among them selues doo nourysh mutual peace and concord. The Princes of this worlde do note and marke theyr men, & speciallye in the tyme of warre, wyth some notable note and signe, that they maye be knowen from other. But see and beholde with what note or badge Christ hath markyd his: certes with no other thā with the note of mutuall charitie, sayinge. By thys badge and note Joan. 13
men shall knowe that ye are my dyscyples, not yf ye be so or so apareled, not if ye fede vpon thys or that meate, nor yf ye fast onely, nor yf ye swallowe vp soo many psalmes, but yf ye loue one anothere, nor that after the commen sorte,

but as I haue louid you. The preceptes of the Philosophers are innumerable, and the commaundementes of Moyses and of the kinges are diuers and many, but my precepte (sayethe he) is but one, that is, that ye loue together. And prescribing vnto them one forme of prayng dothe he not euen at the begynnynge warne them of a maruellous concorde: Oure father sayeth he, it is the prayer of one, it is the common petition of all men, they are al one house, al one familye, all depend of one father, and howe agreeth it then that they shoulde make continuall warre among them selues: With what mouth or boldnes dost thou call vpon the commen father, yf thou thrust thy sword into thy brothers bowelis: And nowe because he woulde that this one thing should settell most depely in the myndes of hys, with howe many sygnes, with howe many parables, with howe many preceptes hath he repetyd the stody of concorde: Ye namethe him selfe a shepherd, and his seruaunres shepe. And I praye you, who euer sawe shepe fight with shepe: Or what shall

John. 10

woules

woules doo, yf the folde teare one another: whan the vine doth call hym selfe the rote, and the braunches hys, what other thing doth he expresse than vnanimitie. It shoulde seme a prodigious thing worthy to be pourgid by sacrifice, if in the selfe same vine one braunche shoulde warre with a nother: and is it not a monstrus thynge, yf a christyan shal fight with a christian? Finallye yf any thing be secret and holy vnto christen men, that should be very holy & depely setteled in their mindes, that Christe in those extreme and last commaundements making as it were his last will & testament deliuerd, commendinge those things vnto his children, ỹ which he desyred shoulde neuer be forgotten. And what other thing doth he teach, cõmyt, cõmaund, pray or desire in al these thinges, but mutual loue amõg his? What doth ỹ communion of that holy bread & amiable cup decre, but a certẽ new & an indissoluble cõcord. But whã he perceiued ỹ peace coulde not stand where men striued for offices, glorye, riches, & to be reuengid: he doth then vtterly exstirpe Joan. 13

oute of the mindes of his suche affecty-
Math.5. ons and vtterly forbiddeth them not to
resist euyll, & if they may he commaun-
deth them to do good to those that haue
Math.5. not deserurd it, and to praye and wyshe
them wel, that wishe other that is euil.
And seme they vnto them selues to be
christians, that for euery light iniury do
drawe the greattest part of al the world
to war? He commaundeth that a prince
should play the minister among his peo-
ple, nor that he in no other thing shulde
excell other, but that he be better than
other, and that he ayde and helpe many.
And yet some be not ashamed for a smal
accesse and pece of grounde to be addid
and annexed vnto theyr territorye, to
styrre vp so greate tumultes. He teach
it vs to liue with out anye store, after
the vse and custome of byrdes & lyllyes.
Math.9. He forbyddeth vs to extend our careful-
nes vnto the next day. It is his wil and
minde, that all we should depende from
Mat,19, heauen. He excludeth all riche men frō
the kingdome of heauen, and yet certen
men feare not for a lytle mony vnpaid,
the whiche parauenture is not oyinge

nor

nor dewe, to shede somuche humayne
bloude. And in these dayes, these seme
most iust causes of making of war. And
truely Christ doth no nother thing, com
maundynge them to learne one certen
thing of hym, to be meke of minde and Mat. 11.
not fearce: and what he commaundeth Math. 5.
the gyft to be left before the aulter, and
not to be offerd before thou be in frend-
ship with thy brother, dothe he not ma-
nifestly, teach vs, that concorde is to be
preferd aboue al other thinges, nor noo
sacrifice to be thankefull vnto God, ex-
cept he commēd it: God refusid ỹ Jewes
giftes, a kyd perchaunce or a shepe, the
which ỹ they which were at debate dyd
offer: & dare christen mē thus makinge
war among them selues offer vp that
holy sacrifice: Nowe whan he lyketh
him selfe vnto a henne, gathering her
chyckens vnder her winges, with howe Mat, 13.
apte a signe dothe he paynte concorde:
He is a getherer, and howe doth it agre,
that we christen men shoulde be kytes:
To the selfe it pertaynethe, that he is
called the corner stone, contayning and
soigning both the walles together: and

doth it not agre that his vicars shoulde moue al the worlde to battell and war, and ioygne kingdomes to kingdomes? And they, as they bost them selues, haue that hygh reconciler to their prince, and yet by noo meanes they can be reconcyled to them selues. He reconcilyd Pilate and Herode, and yet he cannot brynge hys to concorde. He that was defendyd doth rebuke Peter as yet halfe a Iwe, the whiche in iopertye of hys lyfe was redy to defend hys Lorde and mayster, & commaundyd hym to put vp his swerd: and amonge chrysten men, the swerde euen for euerye lyght matter is drawne oute agaynst christians. Woulde he be defendyd with the swerde, that dyinge prayde for the authors of his death? All christen mens letters and bokes, whether thou rede the old or the newe testament, do sounde nothyng else but peace and vnanimitie: and all the lyfe of christen men dothe intreate of nothyng else but of warre. What cruelnes is thys more then bestlye, the whyche with soo manye thynges can not be ouercomde, nor mitygatyd. But let them eyther

Lu. 23.

Jhon. 18

Lu. 23.

leue

leue of the glorye of the tytle of chrystyanitie, or else expresse the doctryne of Chryst by concorde. Howe longe shall the lyfe striue with the name? Beutify youre houses and your garments with the Image of the Crosse, asmuche as it shall please you: Chryste shall not knowledge noo nother note nor signe, but that that he him self prescribed, that is, the signe of concorde. The Apostles being assembled together sawe him goinge into Heauen, and getheryd together they were commaundyd to tary for the celestiall and heauenlye spryte. And he promysyd that he would continually be conuersaunte among those that were assembled, because no man should hope nor truste Chryste to be anye where presente in warres. Nowe, what other thing is that fyery and flamyng spryte, than charytye? There is nothyng more commen thā fyer, and fyer without any dammage or losse is kyndled with fyer. Wylt thou knowe that the spyryte is the parente of concorde? Beholde the ende. He sayth that they were al of one harte and mynde. Actes. 1. Actes. 4.

Remoue the spirite from the bodye, by & by the whole composition of the members shall fall and decaye. Take Peace awaye, the whole societie of a christyan lyfe doth perysshe. Many diuines doo at this presente affirme, that the celestiall spirite is infudyd by the Sacramentes: if they preach and say the truth, where is the peculier effect of the spirite, one hart & one mynde: but yf they be fables, why doo they so great honor vnto these thinges? Truelye I haue sayde and spoken these thynges, that christen men should be the more a shamyd of theyr maners, & not that I would remoue or take anye thinge from the Sacramentes. And yt it hath pleasyd christen men to be called the church, of what other thing dothe it monysshe vs, but of vnanimitie? What gremente is there betwene hostes & the churche? thys doth sounde a congregation, and that a dissention: yf thou glorisye that thou art apart of the Church, what hast thou to do with war? yf thou be remould from the churche, what hast thou to do with Chryst? yf the self same house receyue you all, yf ye haue a com-

Note.

men

men prince, if ye war al for one, yf ye be consecratid & instructed with lyke Sacramentes, yf ye enioye lyke gyftes, yf ye be nourysshed with lyke stipendes, yf the like rewarde be askyd and demaundyd, whye doo ye make suche tumultes among you? We see that there is amog these wycked souldiers, the which bring hyred for wages, euen to the minister of slawter, gret concord, and for no nother cause, but that they go to war vnder the selfe same ensignes, and cannot soo many thynges ioygne those, that profesſe pietie? Is there nothing done by so many Sacraments? Baptisme is the commen Sacramente of all other, by thys we are borne againe to Christe. and cut of from the world, are grafte in the mẽbers of Chryste. What thing can be soo much it selfe, as the members of ỹ selfe same body? Of this therfore there is nother bond nor fre, Barbariã nor Grecke, man nor woman: but all are the selfe same in Christe, the which reduceth all thynges vnto concord. A lytle bloud tasted on both partes out of the cup, doth so toyne the Scythes, that they tarye nor

Baptisme

Note.

nor delay not to die for they^r frend. And
Amitie. amitie is a secrete and a holye thynge
among the Ethnickes, the whiche a cō-
men table hath conciled: and shall not
Note this place for the sacramente of the Aulter. that heauenly breade, and that mistical
cuppe contayne and kepe christen men
in loue & amitie, the which Christ him
selfe hath ordaynyd, the whiche daylye
they doo renewe in the sacrifices: yf
Chryst hath done nothyng there and in
these thynges. What nede now so ma-
ny Ceremonies: yf he went about a se-
rius matter, why doo we as though he
had done some light mater, neglecte it?
Dare any mā be so bold to come to that
table the note of amytye, or to the ban-
kette of Peace, that prepare the warre
agaynste chrystyans, that prepareth to
lease them, for whome Chryst dyed, to
drawe they^r blonde, for whom Chryste
shed his blonde? O brestes more than
adamātynes, in so many things ther is
societie and felowship, & in life soo inex-
plicable debate. The selfe same lawe of
birth is vnto al men, & the self same ne-
cessitie of age & death. All we haue the
selfe same prince of kinde, and the selfe

same

same author of religiō: we are al redemed wᵗ the selfe same bloud & cōsecratiō with the selfe same sacrifices, & nourysshyd with the selfe same sacramēts, and whatsoeuer gift cōmeth of these it commeth frō the self same founten, & equally it is commē vnto all. We haue al but one church, & the self same reward shall all mē haue. And the celestial Jherusalē wher vnto christē mē do suspire & breth, is namid of ỹ vision of peace, wher of ỹ church in the meane while doth sustayne & bere the figure. And how chaunsith it thā that this doth so gretlye differ frō ỹ ensāple: Hath diligent nature profitid so litle, hath Christe him selfe wᵗ all hys cōmaundements, with so many misteries & signes made nothing perfect: yea euilthinges (as the prouerbe saieth) reconcile those ỹ be euill. What is more frayle that the lyfe of mā, what is shorter: vnto how many infirmities & chaūches is it subiect: And yet seinge it hath more euyils of it selfe than it can well beare or suffer, yet they as mad menne call vnto them selfes the greatest parts of all euylles. The lyfe of man.

So

So greate blyndnes dothe occupye the myndes of men, that they see nothing of all these thynges: they are soo dryuen & that hedlyng, that they breke and cutte of al the bandes of nature and of Christ, and of confederations, They fyghte in all places and often, nor ther is no measure nor no ende. Nation with natyon, Citie with Citie, Faction with Faction, Prince with Prince is hurt and destroyed, and for the folysheues or ambition of two men, the which shal shortly as it were with a feuer perysshe, humayne maters are troubled and torned vpsyde downe. But I wyll leue of the tragydies of the olde warre. Let vs repete the Actes of a tenne yeares sense. Among what nation dyd they not fight both by sea and by land mooste cruellye: What region whas not moysted & wet with christen bloud: What ryuer, what sea was not infectid and dyed with humayne bloude. O shame, they fyghte more cruellye than Jewes, than Ethnyckes, than wyld beastes. What war soeuer the Jewes hadde, it was made agaynst straungers, the which christen

meu

men ſhould make againſt vice, with the which there is now agrement, & warre is made againſte men. And yet Gods commaundement led the Jewes to battell. But ambition, (yf thou Judge thre thinge truely all cullers ſet apart) dothe violently hale chriſten men clene ouerwarth: and anger a very euyll counſeyler, doth dryue them, and vnſaciate cupiditie of hauing doth drawe the. They were buſy with foriners, chriſten men are in leage with Turkes, and amonge them ſelues they haue warre. The deſyre of glorye moſt commonly did ſtirre the Ethnicke tyranes to warre, and yet they dyd ſoo ſubdue the Barbarus and wylde nations, that it was expedyent for them to be ſubdude, and that the victor ſhould ſtody to be fauerd of thoſe that were ſubdude: And they labord aſmuch as was poſſible that the victorye might be with out bloud, that an honeſt fame and renome mighte be vnto hym that wanne, and the victors benignitye a ſolace to thoſe that were ſubdued. But I am ſhamyd to remember for howe lyght and vayne cauſes chriſten princes

Ambitiō

Anger,

prouoke

The cause why prynce is make warre.

prouoke the world to war. This prince doth finde out, or fayneth some olde or currupte title, as thoughe it were some great mater, who should gouerne & rule the kingdome, so that the commoditie & profit of the comē wele were sene vnto. He findethe a faute that some what (I cannot well tell you what) is omyttyd in the confederation and leage of a hundred titles and articles. Thys man is priuatelye offendyd with hym for hys spouse deceytfullye conueyed away, or for some lyght worde or mery scoffe freely spoken. And ther be (the which thing of all other is most scelerate and wickid) that through a tyrannicall deceyte (because the fele and perceiue their powre, by the concord of the people to decaye, & by their dissention to be stablyshyd) doo subourne and apoynt them, that of purpose shall moue war, that they may deuide those that be ioyned, and the more licentiously and frely robbe and spoyle the vnfortunate people. Other there be most nocent, the whiche are nourysshed with the damages and losse of the people, and in the tyme of peace haue lytle

to

to do in the commen wele. What infernall furis could send in such poysen into a christen hart? Who hath taught christen men this tyranny? The which neither any Dionisius, nor any Nezentius hath knowne. They are rather bestes than men, and onely noble by tyranny, nor no wheres noble nor wyse, but to doo hurte and mischefe, nor neuer in accorde and agrement, but to oppresse the commen welth. And they that do these thynges, are taken and acceptid for christians, and euery where thus pollutyd approche and come to the holye churches and Aulters. O mooste pestylente personnes, worthye to be into thee extreme Ilands exiled. Yf christen men be the members of one body, why dothe not euerye man reioyce of other mens felicitie and fortune? Now yf that kingdome whiche borderyth vpon a nother doo florysshe in welth, it is thoughte in a maner to be a iuste and a laweful cause to make warre. For what other thinge (yf we wyll speake the truthe) hathe mouyd, or shall moue soo manye

Dionesius.

Nezentius

to

Fraunce and the high praise thereof.

to feare the kingdome of Fraunce with armes, but because it is the most flory-shynge of all other: There is no kyngdome more ample and wyde: nor noo wheres a more noble Senate, no wheres a more famous vnyuersitie, no wheres more greater concorde, and for ỹ cause most hyghest in power. The lawes florysshe no wheres so greatlye, Religyon no wheres more vntouchyd nor with ỹ inter medlyng of Iewes as among the Italions corruptid, nor infectid with ỹ neygbered of Turkes or Mores as among the Spanierdes, and the Hugarians. Germanye (so that I speake nothynge of the Bohemes) is into soo many kynges diuided, that there is no maner a face of anye kyngdome. Fraunce onely is as it were an vndefiled flowre of the christian dominion, and as a most sure castell, yf perchaunce anye tempest should aryse, is many wayes inuadyd, and with so many crafftes and deceites molestyd, nor for noo nother cause, but that they should be, yf there were in thē any vayne of a christian mynde, mooste fayne and glad of. And vnto these wyc-

ked

kyd dedes they pretende a good and a iuſt title, thus they paſt & make awaye, to amplyfy and to enlarge the empeire of Chryſt. O monſtruous thinge, they thinke that the commen wele of chryſtendome is not wel counſeylid nor prouided for, excepte they ouerthrowe thee moſt beutifull and moſt fortunate parte of chriſtendome. What, that intreating and doing of thoſe thynges, they paſſe the wyld beaſtes in crueines. All kinde of beaſtes fyght not, nor the conflictes of beaſtes ar not as we haue ſaid before, and it is more often to be repetyd & ſpoken of, that they maye the better remẽber it, but agaynſt a contrarye kynde of beaſtes. An Adder doth not byte an Adder, nor a Lynre doth not teare a Lynre in peces. And agayne, whan they fight they fighte with their owne weapons. Nature hath armid them, mẽ are borne vnarmyd. O G O O immortall, with what weapens doth anger arme a mã? Chriſtians doo inuade chriſten men wt the ingines of hell. Who canne beleue that gounes were the inuention of mã? Nor they runne not with ſo thicke, nor

with a multitude soo harde closyd togeather to their mutuall destruction. Who euer sawe tenne lyons fyghte with ten bulles? But howe often doo twentye thousand chrystyans fyghte with weapons with soo manye chrysten menne? So muche pleasure it is to hurte, and so much pleasure to offende and to drawe oute the bloude of their Brethren. Nor beastes for the most parte fyght not, but whā hunger, or the care of their yonglinges do cause them to rage. But what iniury is there so light vnto chrisften mē, that semeth not a sufficient and a mete cause and occasyon of warre? Yf thee comminaltye shoulde doo these thinges, they myghte pretende ignorauncе, yf they were youngemen, lacke of knowledge might excuse them, if they be prophayne personnes, the qualitie of thee personne woulde alienate the cruelnes of the dede. But nowe we see that the seede of warre dothe moofte cheyfelye
Note. sprynge of those, by whose counsell and moderatyon it was meete and conuenient, the motions of the people shuld be swagyd. The ignoble and contemnyd

nyd vulgar people doo buylde excellent Cytyes, and edifyed, ciuylye they doo rule them, and gouernynge them, they inryche them. Gouernours and rulers krepe into those Cytyes, and as waspes and dozres they secretelye doo conueye and stele that, that by other mens industrye and laboure is prouyded and gotten: and that, that of manye is wel hepyd together, of a fewe is ill spente: and that, that is well buylded, is most cruellye broughte to ruyne. Yf they remember not the olde, lette who so wyll remember with him selfe, the battels & warres that haue bene foughtenne and made thys tenne yeare, and wayinge the causes, he shall synde that they for the prynces causes haue bene begoune, and endyd with the greate dammage and losse of the people, vnto whome they nothynge pertaynyd. And that, that in tymes passe amonge the Ethnickes and gentylles was estemyd fylthy an hoze hedde (as he sayth) to were an helmette, that is nowe laudable and praise worthy among christen men. An olde souldyer vnto Naso is a fylthye Note. Naso.

thing, and vnto these, a warrier of three score and tenne, is an excellent thynge. Yea, nor preistes truelye are not asha-
Iu.16. med, whome in time paste, God in that bluddye and vnmeke lawe of Moyses, would not they should be defiled wyth anye bloude. Diuines the masters of the christian lyfe, are not ashamyd, the professours of the absolute religion are not ashamyd. Byshoppes are not ashamyd, Cardinals, and the vicars of Chryst are not ashamyd to be the authors and fyre brandes of that thing, the which Christ so greatly hath detestyd. How doo myters and helmetes agree? what hathe a crosyer or a shepe hooke to doo wyth a swerde? what hath the gospell boke to do with a shylde? How doth it agre to salute the people with peace, and to stir and prouoke the worlde to mooste trobelous battells? to geue peace with the tounge, and in dede to sende in warre? Dooste thou with the selfe same mouthe, wherewyth thou preachest peasable Chryste laude and prayse warre? Syngest thou wyth the selfesame trumpet GOD and Satan? Dooste thou couerid

with

with a coule incite at the holy Sermon, the symple vnto murder the whyche of thy mouth, lokydde for the Euangelycall doctryne? Dosse thou occuppynge the place of the Apostles, teache that, that is contrarye to the preceptes of the Apostles? Arte thou not aferde, leasse that, that was sayde and spoken of Chrystes messengers (howe goodlye be the fete of those that shewe forthe Peace, good tydynges. and helthe) be turnyd cleane contrarye? Howe fylthy is the tounge of preystes erhorting vnto warre, incytynge to euyll, prouokynge to death and murder? Amonge the Romaynes as yet wyckedly religious, he that toke vpon hym to be thee hygh Bysshop dyd assure with an othe, as the custome was to kepe hys handes clene and pure from bloude, and so, that beinge hurte he shoulde not be reuengyd. And Tytus Vaspasyan an Ethnycke Emperour kept and perfor-myd the faythe of thys othe constantlye, and it is prayesyd of the Ethnycke wryters. But O shamefastnes vtterlye

Ro. 10.

Vaspasian.

taken from manne, preystes dedycated amonge Chrysten men vnto GOD, and Mounckes the whiche pretende a further holynes than these, inflame mē to murders and slaughters. And they make of the trumpette of the Gospell Mars trumpet, and forgettynge theyr dignytie, they curse and runne vppe and downe, and suffer all thynges, so they maye styrre vppe warre, and throughe these men, Princes (the whiche peraduentre woulde be quyte) are inflamed to warre, by whose auctorytie, it was meete and conuenyente, that they beynge in tumultes and stryfe, shoulde haue bene quyet. Yea they them selfes, (the whiche thynge is more prodygyous and wonderfull) doo fyghte, and euen for their selfe same thynges, that the Phylosophers amonge the wycked condemned, the contempt whereof is, peculyer and proper vnto menne apostolycall. A fewe yeares synce, whan the worlde was violentlye drawen by a certayne fatall sore and dysease vnto warre: the euangelycall preachers, that is the gray and the blacke Fryers, song

and

and blewe vp theyr trumpets and kindled them more and more, that of theyr owne accorde were inclyned to furiousnes. Among Englyshe men, they encouraged them agaynst the Frenchemen, and amoge the Frenchmen, they hartoned them agaynste thee Englyshemen, they instygated and prouoked al men to warre. No man prouoked to peace, except one or two, & for me to haue named them, was vnto them in a maner death. The holy Byshoppes forgettyng theyr dignitie and profession, ran hether and thether sharpening and troubling most diligently the publyke fores & plages of the world. And on ỹ one part they pricte forwardes Pope July, & on the otherside Kings, as though they were not madde ynoughe of them selfes, to haste & to set forwards the warre, & yet we cloke this manifest madnes wt magnificent tytles. To this point a lytel we wrest ỹ lawes, the writings of good men, & the wordes of Scripture most shamefully, I wil not say wickedly. Yea ỹ thing is almost come to this point, ỹ it is folishnes & wickednes too, once to opē thy mouth against war.

and to prayse that, that is onely praysed by the mouth of Chryste. He semeth to counsell the people very slenderly, and to fauer the prince very litle, that counseleth the thing of all other most helthsome, and dissuadeth from the thynge of al thinges most pestilent. Now preistes doo folowe the Hostes. Byshoppes bere a rule in the Hostes, and leuynge
Bellona. their churches, they do Bellonas busynesses. Yea warre doth nowe ingender and make preistes, it maketh Byshops, it maketh Cardinales, of the which honorable tytles the legate of the campe is had and estemid worthye of the successours of the Apostles. And it is the lesse to be marueld at, yf they, whome Mars engendred, doo desyre warre. And to thentent the sore should be the worse to be helpd, they culler such wickednes with the figure and face of pietie. The ensignes and standardes haue crosses. The wicked souldier and hyred for monie to teare & murdre men, doth bere be-
Of the crosse fore hym the sygne of the crosse, & that, that onely is able to dissuade warre, is the sygne of war. O thou wicked souldiour

our, what hast thou to do with ỹ crosse? with these and such mindes and dedes. Dragons, Tigers, and Woules drawe together. Thys signe is his that hathe wonne, not by war, but by death, which sauid and lost not, the whych thing the enemies with whome thou hast to doo, yf soo be thou be a chrysten man, maye most chefely warne the, & how ỹ maiste obtayne the vpper hand. Thou making hast to destroye thy brother, dost bere ỹ ensygne of helthe, and with the crosse dost lese and destroye him, that is sauyd by the crosse. What a thing is this, that men euen from those secrete and reuerent Sacramentes runne to warre (for these also are brought into the hoste, in the which most specially is represented the chefest concord of chrisken men) and drawe theyr nakyd swerdes agaynste their brethren, and make Chryst a loker one (yf he voucheſake there to be presente) of suche a wycked dede, as of all other is mooste acceptable and gratious vnto the wycked spyrites. Fynallye the Crosse of Chryste, whych thyng is most absurde and not to be harde, dothe

thyns

thyne and is secrete and holy in both the hostes and battells. What a monstrus thynge is thys: Dothe the Crosse fight againste the Crosse: Doth Chryst make war against Christ: Thys sygne of a chrysten name is wont to feare the enemies: Why doo they fight against that, that they adore and worshyppe: I be-
Our lor- seche you, what dothe the souldyer pray
des praier in these Sacrysyces. Oure Father.
O vnshamefaste face, darste thou call hym father, that goest aboute to slaye thy Brother: Halowid be thy name. Howe canne the name of GOD be more dishonestyd than wyth these tumultes that are amonge you. Thy kyngedome come. Prayste thou soo, that wyth suche aboundaunce of bloud goest aboute tyrannye: Thy wyll be fulfyllyd in Earthe, as it is in Heauen. Hys wyll is to haue Peace, and preparest thou warre: Thou of oure commen father desyrest dayly bred: and yet thou dost burne thy Brothers corne, and haddest rather it shoulde perysshe as concernynge thy selfe than profyt hym. Now wt what mouth shalte ỹ say thys.

And

And forgeue vs oure trespasses, as we forgeue those that trespasse agaynst vs, that dost make hast to sley thy Brother? Thou that with thy owne peryll doste drawe thy brother into peryl and daunger, dost praye, that thou mayst auoyde the daunger of tentation. Thou desyrest to be deliueryd from euyl, by whose instincte and motion, thou craftly goste about to do thy brother al euil & mischif. Plato denide it to be calde war, that ẏ Gretians shuld moue agaynst ẏ grekes, it is seditiō saith he. And vnto these, war is sacrete and holy, the which a christyan for euery light cause, & wͤ such souldiours & armur, maketh agaynste another. The lawes of ẏ Ethnickes do cast him sowde in a bagge of leather into a ryuer that doth moyst or wet his swerd with the bloud of his brother. Are they lesse brethren whom Christ hath coplid, than they whome consanguinitie hath ioygned? And yet here is a rewarde for the paracyde. O the myserable chaunce of those that war. He ẏ ouercūmeth is a paracyde, & he that is ouerthrowne, doth peryshe, and yet that notwithstaudynge

Plato.

dyng, he because he went about to murder his parents, is culpable of paracide. And after all this, they detest and curse the Turkes as wycked personnes and alienate from Chryste, euen asthoughe that they, whan they do these thynges, were chrystyans, or asthoughe a more pleasaunte spectable coulde be exhybyted vnto the Turkes, than yf they salwe them wyth mutuall and lyke weapens kyll them selues. The Turkes doo sacrifyce vnto deuylles, but whan there is noo sacrifyce more acceptable vnto them, than yf one chrystyan sley another, what other thynge dost thou then but that, that they doo? Furthermore the wycked sprytes (whan that he in lyke maner that kylleth, and he that is kylled are made a sacrifice) haue a doble sacrifyce, who so fauerth the Turkes, or is a frend vnto deuylls, doth oftē tymes offer suche lyke sacrifices. But I longe sense do here what excusys witty and wyse mē shal make to their owne destructiō. They cōplaine that they are compelled, and drawne vnto warre agaynst theyr wylles. Laye of thys by-

ser,

ser, and excuse, alwaye wyth these coulers, counsell with thy owne brests and conscience, thou shalte fynde that anger, ambition, & folyshenes do drawe the hether, and no necessitie: except paraduenture thou vnto this ende dost mesure necessitie, yf in all poyntes it satisfyth not thy mynde. Carrye these fayre wordes vnto the people, god is not derided, nor with cullers deceyued. And in the mene whyle, solem supplications & processions are made, peace is desirid, & prayd for with gret and loude clamurs, we crye oute with maruelous gret lowinges, graunt vs peace we praye thee: here vs. Shall not god iustly answere these. Why do ye laugh me to scorne: ye praye me to put of, that wyllynglye ye do call vnto you, ye refuse by prayer. that ye are authors of. Yf euery offence causeth warre, who hath not a cause to complayne hym: Wannye thynges chaunce betwene the husbande and the wyfe, the whyche must be wynckydde at, excepte thou hadst rather that beneuolence and loue shuld be broken. And yf there be anye such sprunge among

Gala. 4.

amonge p̄ynces, what nede is there by and by to be drawne to warre? There be lawes, there be lerned men, there be worshyppefull Abbotes, there be reuerent Bysshoppes, by whose helthesume counsell the tumultes of thynges may be composyd and swagyd. Why doo they not rather make these men arbytrers, the whyche they cannet obtayne to be soo vniust vnto them, but that they shall departe with lesse hurt, than they shoulde by the experience and p̄ofe of war. There is scacely any peace so euil, but that it is better, than the most equal war. First̄ ponder euery singuler thing, that requyreth, or that bringeth in war, and thou shalt perceiue how gret gaine thou shalte haue. The auctoritie of the Pope is moost excellent, but whan nations and p̄ynces do striue tumultuously with wicked warre, and that manye yeares, where is then the Popes auctoritie, where is the powre than next vnto Christe? In thys thynge certaynelye it shoulde be shewed, yf they were not bounde with like cupidities. The pope calleth to war, men doo obeye, the selfe same

Note.

The Popes auctoritie

same calleth to peace, why doo they not obey in like maner: If they rather desir peace, why did they ioyfully obey Julye the author of war: no man scacely obeied Leo prouoking to peace & concord. If the Popes authoritie be moste holy, Certes it ought than to be moste in force, as ofte as he prouoketh to that, that christ dyd teache mooste specially e. But they whome Julius coulde styre vnto mortall war, whan Leo that mooste holye Pope prouoking thē by so many menes to christian religion could not do ỹ same do declare that vnder the pretence of the Churche, they haue seruyd their owne lustes and cupidities, so that I saye nothinge more sharpely. If euen from the hearte ye doo hate war, I shall counsell you, how ye may defend concord. Perfect peace doth not consiste in affinites, nor in ỹ confederations of men, of thee which we do oftētimes perceiue and se, ỹ wares do rise & spring. The fountens wher out this euil dothe breke, muste be purgid, euil cupidities & desires doo engēder these debates and tumultes. And whilst euery mā doth serue & please hys affectiōs, ỹ cōmē wele in ỹ mene seson is

Julius.

Leo.

afflicted

afflictyd and troubled, and yet noo man attaineth the things ẏ he by euil menes and wayes doth desyre. Let princes be wyse for the profit of the people, and not for their owne profite: and let thē truely be wyse, that they maye mesure their maiestie, their felicitie, their riches, their glory wyth those thynges, that truelye and in dede make men greate and excellent. Let them be of suche a mynde towardes the commen weale, as a father is towardes his familye. A kynge shall esteme and iudge hym selfe greate and noble, yf he commaunde and rule those that be good, and happy, yf he make his fortunate and welthy, and noble, yf he commaunde and gouerne those that are free, and rych, yf he haue rych subiects. And floryshyng, yf he haue Cities that floryshe with perpetuall Peace. And ẏ noble men and magistrates shall ensue and folowe the mynd of the prince, and shall measure all thinges with the cōmoditie and profite of the commē wele, and by this wayes & meanes they shall far more iustly prouide for their owne commodities. Shall a kynge that is of

An exhortation vnto princes

thys

this minde, beſone mould to extoꝛt mo-
nye of his ſubiectes, to geue it vnto a
barbarus and aſtraung ſouldier: Shal
he dꝛiue his to famyne and hunger, to
enriche certē wickid Capitaines: Shall
he obiecte and caſt his ſubiectes liues to
ſo many daungers: I thincke no. Lette
him thus far exercyſe his empeire, that
he beyng a man, remember that he ru-
leth men, a freman, fre men, and at leſt,
a chꝛiſten man, chꝛiſten mē. And in like
maner the people ſhal ſo far forth honoꝛ
hym, as it ſhall ſeme pꝛofitable foꝛ thee
commen welth, noꝛ a good pꝛince ſhuld
aſke, noꝛ exacte no nother thinge. The
conſent and agremente of the citizens,
ſhal diminiſhe the cupidities of an euyl
Pꝛince. Let the cauſe of pꝛiuate commo
ditie, be farre of from them bothe. Lette
great honoꝛ be ſhewed vnto thoſe that
exclude warre, and that by wyt oꝛ coun-
ſell ſhall reſtoꝛe concoꝛd, and that goth
aboute by all meanes, not to gather to
gether a greate ſtrengthe and foꝛce of
men and munition, but that there be no
nede of them. The which moſt goodlye
act and dede we rede that Dioclitianus Dioclitianus.

one among so many emperours, in hys minde and thought conceyued. But yf warre cannot be auoydyd, yet let it be so vsyd, that the myschyfe thereof maye fall vpon their heddes, that gaue the occasion and causes thereof. Nowe the princes make war in sauegard, the captens encrece thereby, the gretestе parte of the euills and losses is powryd vpon the husband men and commen people, vnto whom the warre pertayneth not, nor that gaue no cause nor occasion ther of. Where is the wisedome of the prince yf he waye not these thynges? There must a mene be founde, wherby it maye be appoynted that Empeirs chaung not nor as it were walke not vp & downe so often, for the renouation and renuynge of thinges dothe engender tumultes, & tumultes warre. And this may easelye be done, yf kinges children were maryed within the borders of their dominyon, or if it so like him to marye thē to the borderers, for so the hope of succession is cut of frō thē al. Nor let it not be lawful for the prince to alienate or to sell anye part of his dominion, asthough free cy-

Note.

tyes

ties were priuate lande. For the cities which are rulid by kinges are fre cities, and they which tyrannes ouerpresse doo serue. Nowe by the alteration of suche mariages it chaunsith that he that is borne among Iryshe men, shal sodenlye rule those of Inde: or else he that rulid ẏ Syrians, shal sodenly be kyng of England, so it chaunseth that neither of thee realmes hath a prince, for whilst he leauith the fyrst, of the last he is not knowen, and vnto them he is as a man borne in a nother worlde. And in the mene seson that he purchaseth ẏ, whylst he ouer cõmeth it, whles he stablisheth it, he cõsumeth & destroith the other, & sometime whylst he stodeth to embrace bothe, he scacelye mete to rule one, leseth both.

These princes wil once agre what eche of thẽ ought to rule and gouerne, & ẏ no affinitie shal e.ther extend, or diminishe the borders of their dominion once geuẽ & delyuerd vnto thẽ, nor no confederations exstirpe nor destroy thẽ. And euery one of them shal labour and trauell asmuche as he may possible, to adurne his part & portiõ, & geuing al his stody & di-

gence vnto that parte onelye, shall trauayle to leaue it enryched with al goodnes and ryches vnto his chyldren. And by this menes it shal come to passe, that in all places all thynges shall florysshe. But amonge them selfes they muste be coupled and confederated not with affynytes, nor with factious societes, but with pure and synicere amytie, & cheyfly with cõmen and lyke stody of forderyng and encresyng the common welthe. Let him succede the kyng that is eyther next of kyn, or iudged moste meete by the suffrages and voyces of the people, and let it suffyce other to be reputed and counted noble amonge those that be honest.

Note. It is a kyngly thynge not to know pryuate affections, but to esteme al things for the publyke and common vtylytie. Forthermore a Prynce shall eschewe longe peregrenacions, yea he shulde neuer wyll ne desyre to passe beynge thee boundes and borders of his kyngdome: and he shal remembre the saying approued by the longe cõsent of worlds. The forhed is more excellent, than is ỹ hinder part. A Prince shal esteme him self to be

enryched

enryched not by the takyng awaye of o-
ther mens, but yf he encrease his owne.
Whan warre must be entreted & spoken
of, let hym not call yonge men to coun-
saple vnto whome warre is pleasaunte
and swete, because they are vnexperte,
how muche euyll and myscheyfe it hath
and conteyneth: nor those, vnto whome
it is profytable that publyke tranquily-
tie be troubled: nor those the whiche are
nourysshed and made fat with the cala-
myties of thee people. He shall call
wyttye auncient and olde men, whose
mercy and beneuolence is knowen vn-
to the countrye. Nor let not war be mo-
ued for the pleasure or lust of one or two,
the whiche once begonne is not easelye
ended. It is a moste perylous & a daun-
gerous thing, except it be taken in hand
by the consent of all the people. The
occasyons and causes of warre muste
euen oute of hande beforetolde and de-
clared. But yet certayne must be wyn-
ked at, for gentylnes shall inuyte and
prouoke gentylnes. Some tymes peace
muste be boughte. And yf thou caste
what warre shall consume and waste,

Cal none of these to counsell.

and that thou shalte kepe thy Cytizyns from destruction, it shall seme, although thou dyddest bye it full dearelye, to be boughte for lytell. And whan a greate deale mooze, beſydes the bloude of thye Cytizyns, ſhoulde haue bene ſpente in warre: thou ſhalte reken howe greate and manyfolde euylles thou eschuidſt, and howe muche goodnes thou defendidſt, ſo ſhalt thou not repente the of thy expenſes and charges. In the meane tyme lette Byſhoppes doo theyr office and dueties. Lette Preyſtes be truelye Preyſtes. Lette Monkes remembze theyr profeſſyon. Let Dyuynes teache that is wozthye and meete for Chryſte. Let all menne conſpyze agaynſt warre. Let all menne barke agaynſt it. Lette all menne preache, extole and incnlcate peace pzyuatelye and apertlye. Then yf they cannot bzynge it to paſſe that it be not ended by the ſwerde, yet certes they ſhall not appzoue it, noz be pze-ſent thereat, noz that any honoure by theyr auctho:ytie be hadde oz gyuen too ſuche a wycked, oz to ſuche a ſuſpecte thynge.

Let it be suffycyente for those that be slayne in battell, to be buryed in Prophayne and vnhallowed grounde. And yf there be any good in this kynd, the whiche surelye are very fewe, they shall not for these thynges be defrauded or lease theyr reward. But the euyll and wycked, the whyche are manye, shall not be pleased that thys honours be taken from theym. I speake of these warres that commonlye Chrysten men make agaynst Chrysten men. For I meane nor thynke not soo of those, that with a symple and a relygyous stodye, and dylygence doo repell thee byolente incarcyons of thee Barbaryens, and with theyr owne peryll defende the publyke and common tranquylytie. Nowe the Trophees and sygnes of theyr victoryes, dyed and stayned with the bloud of those, for whose saluacyon Chryste shedde his bloude, are auaunced and set vp in temples among the Images of the Apostles and Martyres: as thoughe that hereafter it be a Relygyous worke not to be made Martyres but too make Martyres. It were suffycyente ynou-

ſnoughe that theſe thynges were kepte in a place of iudgement, or in an armary, for it is not conuenient ỹ any thing defylyd with blonde, ſhoulde be receuid into the holy churche, the which oughte to be moſt clene and pure. Preiſtes conſecratid vnto God ſhuld not be preſente, but to deſtroye and diſanull warre, for if they conſent and agre vnto theſe thynges, and euery where inculke and repete the ſame, it wylbe of greate force & ſtrength. But if this be a fatall diſeſe of mans wyt, that be no meanes it cannot endure with out war, yet let this euyll then rether be ſhed againſt the Turkes, althoughe it were better to alure them by doctrine, good dedes and by the innocency of lyfe to Chriſtes religion, thē to innade them with war. But if war (as I haue ſayde) cannot in no wyſe be auoided, yet that were a liter & an eſier harme, than that chriſten men ſhould ſo wickedly make war and be hurt and deſtroyde among them ſelfes. And if mutuall charitie doo not vnite them, ſome commen enemye by ſome meanes or other ſhall ioygne them, ſoo that there

How turkes ſhuld be alurid to chriſt.

ſhalbe

shalbe as it were a certayne concorde, although that true concord be absente and lackynge. Finally it is a great part of peace, from the hart to wyll Peace. All such vnto whom peace is plesaunt, do receaue al occasiõs of peace, ỹ things which do withstande it, either they neglecte them, or ells they remoue them, & suffer manye thinges, so that soo greate goodnes may be safe and sounde. They searche the begynnynge and causes of war, the thinges that pertaine to peace, they prayse them, or else they dissemble them, but that that doth tende towards warre, they encrese and make it worse. I am ashamyd to open for howe vayne & tryflynge maters they excite and stirre greate tragedies, and howe great tempestes doo ryse of so smale sparcles. Thẽ that greate multitude of iniuryes is remembred, and euerye man dothe heape on hys owne euills and iniuryes dons vnto him, but in the mene space of good dedes there is noo remembraunce, but depe forgetfulnes, soo that thou shalte truelye swere, that they desyre, and coueite warre.

And

And oftentimes their are pryuet matters of princes, the which cõpel ỹ world to war. But the cause why that warre shuld be takẽ in hand, should be publike and more thã euident. But whã ther is no cause they faine causes of dissentiõ abusing ỹ vocables of coũtris & regions to ỹ nourishmẽt of hatreds, & noble men do nourishe & encrese this error of ỹ folyshe people, & abuse it to their owne profyte and commoditie, & certẽ preistes also doo nourishe these things. The englishe mã is enemi vnto ỹ french mã, for no nother cause, but ỹ he is a french mã. The englyshe mã for no nother cause doth hate a Scot, but bicause he is a Scot. The Germaine is at debate with the frenchman, the Spaniarde w̃ them bothe. O ouerwartnes. The vaine vocable of ỹ place disioyneth men. Why shuld not so many thinges rather reconcile thẽ? Thou Englishe man dost hate a french man, why dost not thou a man, rether be welwillyng vnto mã: a christian man vnto a christian. Why can so voyde and soo lyght a matter do more with these men, than so many bandes of nature, or of

Chryste

Chryst: The place doth seperate and di-
uide mens bodies, but not theyr minds.
In times past the Rhene separatyd the
frenchman from the Germaine, but the
Rhene doth not separate a chrystian frō
a chrystian. The mountens pyrines dy-
uide the Spaniardes from the Italiens,
but the same diuide not the communion
of the Churche. The Sea diuideth eng-
lyshe men from frenche men, but it dy-
uideth not the societie and felowshyppe
of relygyon. Paule the Apostle disday-
neth to here these voyces among chrystē
men. I am Apollos, I am Cephas, I
am Paules disciple. Nor he suffereth not
wycked names to diuide Chryste recon-
cylynge all thynges: and we iudge the
commen vocable and name of a country
to be a graue and a wayghty cause why
one nation should bende towardes the
destruction of a nother. Nor thys surely
vnto somme mennes myndes is not
suffycyente, for thou doste here that
shrewdelye and of purpose they doo seke
occasyons of debate and dyuysyon, they
dyuyde Fraunce and those thynges
wyth vocables, the whyche nother

1. Cor. 3

sea

sea, mountens, nor true names of regions diuide. Of French men they make Germaines, that throughe the felowshyppe of the name, amitie shoulde not growe and encrece. Yf a Iudge in odious actions, as of diuorse, doth not lightlye receyue theyr controuersies, nor admit euery probation, why do these men in a thinge of all other most odious, admit euery vayne and lighte cause: But let them rather thinke and take the mater as it is, that thys worlde is the commen countrye of all men. Yf the tytle of the countrye do reconcile all men, borne of the selfe same elders, yf affynytye of bloude make the frendes, yf the churche be one famyly and equallye commen to al men, yf the selfe same house do couple and ioygne frendshyppe, it is mete that wyse and witty men should hange and cleue to thys parte. Thou sufferest and berist sume thynges with thy father in lawe, and for noo nother cause but because he is thy wyues father, and beryst thou nothynge wyth hym that in felowshyppe of relygyon is thy brother: Thou forgeuest many thinges for the

propinquitie

propinquintie and nighnes of kindred, and forgeuest thou nothing for the affinite of religion: Truely ther is no bād that bindeth more streyghtlye, than the sodalitie and felowshyp of Christ. Why is that thing onely before our eies, that doth erulcerate and hurte the harte: yf thou fauer peace thinke thus rether, in thys he hath hurtyd me, but at other tymes he hath often profited me: or by some other mans impulsiō he hath hindred and hurted me. And as they that call men to concorde laye the causes of dissention that were betwene Agamēnon & Achilles (as Homere doth write) to the Godes Aten, so let those thinges that at no time can be excusyd, be imputyd to destany, or yf ye will, to some euyl God, and let hatred be translatyd from men into these thinges. Why are they wyser to their owne destruction, than to defende felicitie: why are they more quicker of sighte to euill, than to good: They that are sumwhat more wyse doo or euer they go aboute any priuate mater, delyuer, consyder, and loke aboute them: but they, they? eies beynge clo-

A derpe sure bād.

Aten.

sid

ſtd and ſhut vp, caſt them ſelues hedling into warre, namely whan it is once begunne, it cannot be auoydyd, yea of a litle, it is made great, and of one, many, and of an vnbluddy, a bluddy, and chefely whan that thys tempeſt doth not afflicte and punyſhe one or two, but in lyke maner incloſeth al men. Yf the cõmen people do lyghtly waye theſe thinges, yet it is the princes and the nobilyties parte to ponder and way them. It is the preiſtes parte by al meanes to ſtablyſhe theſe thinges, and to laye them vnto the wyllynge and vnwyllynge, they wyll cleue and take place, yf they be harde in all places. But doſte thou make warre? Fyrſte beholde what maner a thing peace is, and what war is. What profytte Peace bryngeth, and what cuyll and diſprofite warre bryngeth, and ſo ſhalte thou perceaue whether it be expediente to permytte and chaunge peace for war. Yf it be a thing to be marueylde at, a kyngedome flouryſhynge euerye where with all thynges, with cities wel builded, with feldes wel manerid & tild, with verye good lawes,

with moste honest disciplines, w̄ moste holy maners: thinke with thy selfe, yᵗ I make war, this felicitie shalbe troubled by me. On the other syde, if thou at any time hast sene the ruine of Citys, thee stretes decayed & broken, the churches consumyd with fire, the feldes desolate, and this miserable spectacle and syghte, as it is, is sene, thinke this to be ẏ frute of warre and battell. Yf thou thinke it greuous to bring into thy country such a scelerate and fylthy company of hiryd souldiours, to nourysshe & fede thē with the dammage & losse of thy Citizins, to serue them, to flatter them, yea and to commit thy selfe & thy helth to theyr arbytriment, loke that thou thinke this to be the condition of war. Yf thou abhor theste, warre dothe teache it, yf thou detest paracide, that is learnt in war. For howe shal he feare beyng moued to sley one, that hyrid for so light a stipend doth slepe and murder soo manye? Yf the neglectynge of the lawes be moofte presente pestilence of a cōmen wele, the lawes in ẏ time of war, shal kepe silēce, yf thou esteme adultery, incest & filthier thynges

The frutes of warre.

The neglecting of Lawes.

thinges than those to be fylthye, war is the mayster of all these thinges. Of impietie and the neglecting of religion be the spring of al euills, these thyngis by the tempestes of war are ouerthrowne. Of thou iudge the state of that comen weele to be euill, wher they that ar worst may doo most, in war they that are most scelerate and most cuyll, do reygne. And theyr workes whome in time of Peace thou wouldst crucify and hange vppe, in war are chefest and most regardid. For who canne better lede an armye be bywayes, than an exercised theefe? who shall more strongelye robbe other mens houses, or spoyle Churches, than a breaker downe of walles, or a sacrilegious person? Who shall more corragiouslye smyte hys enemye, or with his swerde drawe oute hys bowells, than a swerd player, or a paracide? Who is so meete to set Cities a fyer, or ingentes of war, than he that is a burner of houses? who shall so wel contemne the perils of fludes and seas, as a pirate exercised with long robbery? Wilte thou manifestlye knowe & see, howe wicked a thing that warre

The spring of al euills.

Note.

warre is, marke and consider those wel that doth make it. ¶ If vnto a religious prince nothing should be more acceptid than the helth and welfayre of his subiectes, this man most specially e should hate war. ¶ If it be a princes felicitie to rule & gouerne his daughters, he muste most chefely embrace peace. ¶ If we shuld principally wyshe vnto a good prince, that he might rule those that were best, he must nedes detest warre, where oute flowith the pumpe of all impietie. ¶ If he thinke al ỹ his citizins do posseseto be hys, he be all menes must nedes auoide war, ỹ which, so that it chaūce happely, doth consume all mens substaunce, and the thing that hath bene purchasid and gotten by honest artes and menes, must be spent vpon a cruel sorte of hang mē. Now they most diligētly must way this thinge, that euery mans one cause doth flatter hym, and that euery mans hope doth please hym, and whan it is moste often very euil, yet vnto him that is moued it semeth most right and equal, and this doth often times deceiue thē. But laine the cause to be most iust, laine the

Note.

ende of the war to be moste profitable & prosperous: cast with thy selfe the incō-modities wher with the war was made and the cōmodities the which thou hast obtaynyd and gotten by the victory, and marke whether to wynne be of so gret a valure. An vnbludlye victorye dothe scacely chaunce at any time. And nowe thy men be polutid wō humaine bloude. Besides this, count the losse of maners and publike discipline, the which with no vtilitie and profite can be restoryd. Thou consumest thy tresure, ỹ spoilest thy people, ỹ dost burdē those ỹ be good, thou dost stir & prouoke the vnhonest to mischife, nor after that ỹ war is fynyshed ỹ reliques therof ar not by & by pacifide. Handy crafftes, & occupations do decaye, the exchaunges & resortinge together of marchaūtes are shut vp. And to inclose thy enemy, ỹ art compelde to exclude thy salte frō many regions and countries. Before the war, al regions & countryes that borderd vpon the were thine, for peace by ỹ exchaūge of things make al thinges cōmen. See & beholde how gret a thing ỹ hast done, the dominion

The incommodities of warre.

Peace maketh al things commen.

nion whiche is chekelye thine, is nowe scacely thine. And to besege a litle town how many ingents of war & tentes are nedeful: And to ouerthrow a very town nedes must ỹ make & build a coũterfete, but yet thou mightest with lesse charge haue builded a very towne. And to lette thy enemy to comforth ỹ as a banyshed man frõ thy countrye, dost slepe vnder ỹ cope of heauẽ. It would haue cost ỹ lesse to haue buylded newe walles, than to batter & throwe thẽ downe with bombardes and ingentes of warre, that are buylded. Here I dare not rekẽ ne counte what sommes of monye haue rune thorowe the exactors, receuers, and Captens fingers, ỹ which is no smale part. And if thou shulst reuoke & call euerye singuler thing to the iuste accountes: I willingly wold suffer thou shulst euerye where elect me, if ỹ find not that peace mighte haue bene boughte for the halfe parte of the expensis. But if thou shulst remit any part of iniurye, thou woulste repute thy selfe to be of a smale corage. Yea there is noo probatyon more certeyne of an abiecte, and of an Note.

vnkyngly mynde, than to be reuenged. Thou thynkeſt that ſumwhat it ſhould diminyſhe thy maieſtie, yf hauyng to do with ſome Prince borderyng vpon the, & perchaũce thy kinſman, or affyne, & that in times paſt had done for the, thou ſhuldſt remytte parte of thy ryghte. But howe muche more abiectly doſte thou dyſpyſe thi mateſty, whan that now & than thou ſhalt be compelled to pleaſe the Barbarus cõpanyes & vyleſt dregges of all ſcelerate & myſcheuous perſons, the which ſhall with golde neuer be fylled nor ſatiſfyed: whyles that thou as meeke and with prayers doſte ſende Ambaſadours vnto the Cares a moſt vile & hurtful people: whylſt thou cõmitteſt thy life, & thy peoples goods & ſubſtaũce to their faith that haue neyther conſideracion nor holynes. But yf peace ſhal beſeme to haue any iniqitie, beware ỹ thinke not thus, this I leaſe, but I bi peace ſo much. For a ſubtiler diſputer ſhal ſay, I wold yf the thing perticulerly pertained vnto me, ſone graũt it. I am a prince & whether I wil, or nil, I rule ỹ cõmon welth. He ſhal not litely cõmenſe nor begyn war, that

Cares.

loketh

loketh vpon nothing els, but that is pub lyke, but truly we se the contrary, & that al causes of war be nourysshed and fed of those things, that pertaine nothing vnto the people. Wilte thou defende this or that part of thy dominion, what is this vnto the people? Thou wilt be reuenged vpon him that hath forsaken thy daughter, what is this to the common welth? to expende and way these thinges, & to forese them, is the point of a very wyse man, & of a noble Prince. Who at any tyme hath ruled more at large, or more nobly or glorioussy than Octauius Augustus? Atis also desyred to giue vp and resygne his Empere, yf he had sene any other Prince more profitable for the cõmon welth. This sayinge of a certayne Emperour is of noble Authors merytoryously & worthely praised. My chyldren, saith he, shal spare me, if any other can better gouerne and coũsell the common welth. These good wyls & myndes the hethen shewe vnto the cõmon wele. But as cõcerning Christes religiõ, chri-stẽ princes esteme christẽ people so litel, that eyther they wil with the most gre-

Augustus.

Atis.

Note.

nous destruction of the worlde reuenge their cupidites & lustes, or els fulfil thē. Nowe I doo here certaine other in this wise say the contrary, denyng thē selfs to be in sauegard, except that i may sharply repell the violence of ỹ wicked. Why were not the onely Antonini the meke & the Philosopher among the innumerable Emperours of Rome, inuaded: but bicause no man ruleth more surely than he, that is prest & redy to giue that ouer, that he gouerneth for a cōmon welth, & not for him selfe. And yf nother ỹ sense of nature, nor ỹ respect of pietie shal nothinge moue you, nor yet so great calamitie, certes ỹ shame of a christen name shal reduce your mindes to cōcord. How great a portion of the world do christen men possesse? And yet this is that Cytie sytuated vpon the highe mountaine, & made a spectacle both vnto god & man. But what shall we thynke, that ỹ enemies of a christen name do meane and speake, what infamie they vompyte oute agaynst Christ, when they se that christen men do stryue among them selfes for lighter matters than the Etynikes, more

Antonini. Note.

more cruelly thã the wicked, with more cruell ingents of war thã they? Whose inuencion was the bumbarde & gunne, was it not the inuẽcion of christen men? And that the thinge might be more disdained, they name them by the names of the Apostles, & their Images are graued vpon them. O cruell derision. Shal Paule the continuall exhorter of peace, cast ani deuelishe ingent of war against a christen man? If we desyre to bringe the Turkes to Christes religion, let vs fyrst be christianes. For they shal neuer beleue it, yf they se the thyng that christ aboue al thinges doth moste detest, to be no where more cruellye vsed, than among christen men. And that Homere ỹ Ethnike doth much maruyle at among Ethnikes, whan that there is a societie of pleasaunte and sweete thinges, as of slepe, meate, drynke, of daunces, and musyke, and that of vnlucky war there is no societie, and this is moste true among theim, vnto whom thee name of war ought to be abhominable. Rome that furious warrier in times past, hath Gounes.

Janus temple.

sene at certen tymes her temple of Janus spard and shut vp. And howe dothe it agre that amonge you, there are noo dayes vacant from war? With what boldenes shall ye preache Christ the author of peace vnto thē, whan that ye wͤ continuall dissention do stryue amonge youre selues? And nowe what mynde & corage thinke you, that youre discorde doth adde and geue vnto the Turkes? There is nothinge more esye, than to ouercome those, that are at debate. Wil ye be fearefull vnto them? Be at vnytie and concorde, why doo ye willyngelye thinke your selues vnworthye of the iocundite and pleasure of thys presente lyfe: and wyll ye fall from the felicitye that is to come? The lyfe of man of it selfe is subiecte to many myssortunes, concorde shall remoue a great parte of the molestiousnes & grefe, whilst that wͤ mutual officis the one either doth comforte, or else doth helpe & aide the other. Yf any good thing chaūce, it shal cause the concord to be the sweter, & the more common, whilst one f end geueth parte vnto his frend, & a we willer reioyseth

The life of man.

for

for his welwyllers sake. Howe vayne thynges are they & howe sone shal they perysshe, for the whiche their is suche a tumulte among you, death vnto al men is at hand, alwell vnto kings as vnto ỹ commen people. What tumultes shal a vile wretch stye vp, ỹ shortly after shall vanisshe away as it were smoke: Eternitie is at hãd. Wherto serueth it to striue and labour for these thinges like vnto shadose, asthoug thys life were immortal. O miserable wretches, ỹ beleue not that fortunate & happy lyfe of the good, nor hope not for it, shameles personnes that promyse thẽ selues ỹ same to be the waye and iorneye from the wars, whã ỹ the life of the good, is no nother thing than a certen vnspecable communiõ of fortunate and happy soules, seyng that nowe that thing shal fullye & perfectlye chaunce, that Christ so diligently prayd hys heuẽly father for, that they mighte be so ioined together, as he was ioyned vnto hys father. And howe canne it be mete for this high cõcord, except that in the mene while ye asmuche as ye maye do, thinke vpon it. And as an Angel is

Deathe.

The lyfe of the good.

Ioan. 17.

not

not sodenly made of a stinking glutton, euen soo a companion of Martyres and Saintes is not sodenly made of a sanguinolēt and bludy warrier. Go to, ther is shed inough, yea more thā ynough of christē bloud, & yf ý be litle, of humaine bloud, we haue furiously ynough stroué mutually to destroy eche other. We hetherto haue done sacrifice ynough to the furis & to hell, we haue long ynough fed the Turkes eies, ý fable is endid. At the leste wyse at length let vs after the myseryes of the warres to longe borne and sufferde, ware wyse, whatsoeuer hether to hath bene done vndiscretelye and folyshely, let it be imputyd to the destenye and necessitie of thynges. Let thee obliuiousnes and forgetfulnes of thes euylls that be past, the whiche in tyme past haue pleasid prophane men, please chrysten men, and here after geue your diligence with commen counsells to the stody of peace. And soo geue your stody and diligence, that it maye soo be made and bounde, not with bandes made of flaxe, but with adamantyne and sure bandes, that it neuer be broken. I call

Clerye good cōsell.

vnto

vnto you O ye p;inces, at whose becke and commaundement the matters and busynesses of men most cheyfelye do depende, and that among men do bere the Image of Chryst: Knowledge the voice of your p;ince calling vnto peace, esteme that all the wo;lde werye with longe warre, doth desy;e thys of you: yf it dis-please any manne, it is ryght and mete to geue and to attribute it to the pub-lyke and common felycitye of all men. It is a greater and a watyer matter, thã that maye be neglectyd fo; lyghte; caus-ses. I cal vnto you O ye p;eists cõsecra-tio vnto god, exp;esse & declare that w̃ al your study, that ye knowe to be mooste thankeful vnto god, & remoue that, that is vnto him most hatyd. I call vnto you O ye diuines, p;eache you the Gospell of peace, sing continuallye peace vnto ỹ people. I call vnto you O ye Bysshopes, that in ecclesiasticall dygnytye doo ex-cell other, see that your auctho;itie be of powe;e and fo;ce to bynde Peace wyth eternall bandes. I call vnto you that are p;yuate Magestrates, that youre wyll be an ayde and an

helpe to the wysedome of kynges, & to ỹ mercy and iustice of Bysshoppes. I confusely call vnto you that are named by the name of a christen name, that ye w̃ cõsentyng myndes do conspire and consent vnto this thing. Shewe you here of what powre that ỹ concorde of the multitude is, against the tyrannye of the nobles. Vnto this let al men bringe together al that euer they haue. Let eternall thinges ioygne them, whom nature w̃ so many thinges hath ioygned, & Christ with manye mo. Let eucrye man with cõmen stodies do, that equallye pertayneth to the felicitie of al men. Al things do inuite vs to this. Fyrst ỹ sense of nature, & (as I may sai) humanitie it selfe. Furthermore Chryste the Prince & author of al humaine felicitie. And besides al these thinges, so many cõmodities of peace, and so many calamities of war. Vnto this the myndes of princes, inclininge to concorde, God as it were euen nowe inspiringe them, doo call vs. Behold that peasable and meke Leo, playing the part of the vicar of Christ, hath desployde and set forth his enligne vn-

The thinges that inuyteth vs to peace.

Leo.

to

to all men inuityng vs to peace. Yf ye be true shepe, folowe youre pastore.

Frances the most christen frenche king, not by title onely, doth call vs, ỹ which is not greuyd to by peace, nor in noo place hath any regarde of his maiestye, so he may prouide and helpe the cõmen and publike peace, teachynge thys to be truely a noble and a kynglye worke, to do well for man kinde. Here vnto doth that most noble prince Charles a yonge man of an vncorrupt indole and signyfication of vertue, doth call vs. Nor the Emperoure Maximilian dothe not abhore thys. Nor that noble kinge Henry of Englande dothe not refuse it. It is mete that all other shoulde wyllynglye ensue and folowe the ensample of soo greate and myghtye princes. The most part of ỹ people detest war, & praye for peace. A fewe whose wycked felycytie doth depend of ỹ publike infelicitie, doth wishe for war, and whether it be righte or no that theyr dishonestie should be of more valure and force, than the wyll of all good men, iudge you. We se that hetherto there is nothinge done by conse-

Francis.

Charles.

Maximilyan, Kynge Henrye the .viii.

derations.

derations, nothing auaunsid by affinities, nothing by violence, nothing by reuengyng. Nowe on the other side proue what placabilitie & beneficence may do, war seeth warre, & vengaunce draweth vengaunce. Nowe grace shall engēder grace, and benefite shalbe inuityd by benefite, and he shal seme moste kinglye ỹ graunteth & forgoeth most of his right. It succedeth not ỹ is done by humaine study. But Chryst him selfe shal prosper godlye counsell, the which he being author and gide shal see to be receiuid. He shalbe present & fauorable, he shal helpe vs, and fauer the fauerers of ỹ thinge, that he so greatly fauerth, & publike vtilitie, shal ouercome priuate affections. And whilst peace is prouydyd for, and euerye mannes fortune made better, Princes kyngdomes, yf they rule those that be good and religious, and raygne more by lawes, than by armes, shalbe amplifide: the dignitie of noble menne greater and trueer, the quietnes of preistes more tranquill, the quietnes of the people more plentiful, & their fertilytye more quiet, and the name of Chryst to

the

the enemies of Christes crosse more fere full. And finallye euerye one shalbe to reche other, and al vnto all louynge and pleasaunt, and aboue al thinges thanke full vnto Chryst, whom to haue plesid, is the hiest felicitie.

I haue sayde.

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